Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

United Republic of Tanzania

STREET FOOD IN TANZANIA

A LITERATURE REVIEW

By **Stefano Marras**

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

July 2018

Reference

Marras S. (2018). *Street Food in Tanzania. A Literature Review.* Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

The designations employed and the presentation of material in this information product do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) concerning the legal or development status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries. The mention of specific companies or products of manufacturers, whether or not these have been patented, does not imply that these have been endorsed or recommended by FAO in preference to others of a similar nature that are not mentioned. The views expressed in this information product are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of FAO.

ISBN

© FAO, 2018

FAO encourages the use, reproduction and dissemination of material in this information product. Except where otherwise indicated, material may be copied, downloaded and printed for private study, research and teaching purposes, or for use in non-commercial products or services, provided that appropriate acknowledgement of FAO as the source and copyright holder is given and that FAO's endorsement of users' views, products or services is not implied in any way.

All requests for translation and adaptation rights, and for resale and other commercial use rights should be made via www.fao.org/contact-us/licence-request or addressed to copyright@fao.org.

FAO information products are available on the FAO website (www.fao.org/publications) and can

be purchased through publications-sales@fao.org

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY.....i

1. STREET FOOD VENDING.....1

1.1 Food and beverage on sale.....1
1.2 Street food vendors.....2
1.3 Vending spaces and time.....3
1.4 Ingredient sources.....4
1.5 Economic turnover and business performance.....4
1.6 Waste management.....6
1.7 Legal status.....6
1.8 Vendor associations.....7
1.9 The physical risks of street vending.....7

2. STREET FOOD CONSUMPTION.....8

2.1 Consumers.....8
2.2 Food choice.....8
2.3 Time and frequency of consumption.....9
2.4 Nutritional contribution of street food.....9
2.5 Safety of street food.....10

3. STREET FOOD POLICIES, LAWS, AND PROGRAMMES.....13

3.1 Historical overview of the political approach.....13
3.2 Current legal framework.....15
3.3 Development interventions.....17

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....18

4.1 Inclusive urban planning and equipped spaces.....18
4.2 Suitable licensing and taxation procedures.....18
4.3 Strengthened vendor associations.....19
4.4 Increased financial support.....19
4.5 Increased food safety.....19
4.6 Improved nutritional quality.....19
4.7 Increased business skills.....20

REFERENCES.....21

SUMMARY

Street food vending

- Food on sale is primarily from energy-dense ingredients rich in carbohydrates (e.g. grains, tubers), proteins (e.g. meat, fish, eggs), and fat (e.g. deep-fried food). Micronutrient-rich foods (e.g. vegetables and fruits) are rarely sold. Main reasons include consumer preferences, cost of ingredients, and lack of nutritional and cooking knowledge.
- 80-90% of the street food vendors are women (mama lishe), between 20 and 45 years old, 50% married with children (slight increase of singles over the last years), with primary education.
- Startup investment ranges between 10,000 and 19,000 TSh (from own savings or friends). Each business has 3-6 employees (mostly family members). On average, vendors stay in business a few years.
- Vendors operate mostly near transportation hubs, construction sites, markets, schools. They change business locations regularly due to eviction or harassment. Many operate in private spaces or inside school premises.
- Vendors source their ingredients mainly from local markets, wholesale markets, and retail shops. A few of them source directly from the local farmers or from their own plots. Water used for dilution of fruit juices is mainly sourced from deep wells and tap water.
- Each vendor serves on average 168 people per day. The Rent for the premises ranges between 1,000 and 20,000 TSh / month; the cost to buy ingredients is 25,000-34,000 TSh / day. Daily net profit is 5,000-20,000 TSh (50% of vendors earn 10,000-15,000 TSh). Higher profits in city center, but more competition. Lack of formal entrepreneurial training and business experience limit business performance of many. Female vendors tend to have lower profit than male vendors due to higher labor burden and limited access to credit.
- Many vendors operating in school premises throw waste in trash receptacles, but many still throw waste in open gutters and on the streets. Green Waste Pro Limited collects waste from vendors on the waterfront. Some waste in Songea is used as feed for crab farming.
- Most street food vendors operate without a regular vending license (68% in 2011), but there is a slight increase of vendors with license (+8% in 2007-2011). The main reasons for not having a license include: uncertainty about length of engagement; high registration fees; cumbersome red tape; unattainable requirements; no development from tax.
- Street vending associations are weak and often unofficial.
- Vendors suffer physical risks including harassment, harmful inhalation of charcoal fire smoke, and malaria.
- Some operate individually but others as registered groups

Street food consumption

- The factors that boost the consumption of street food include: lower availability of home food due to more working women (88% in Tanzania, the highest rate in the world); distance between home and workplace (Dar es Salaam is the third fastest growing urban area in Africa); fast pace of urban

life; lower cost compared to formal restaurants and even home cooking (it saves time and cooking fuel); lack of school canteens.

- Consumers are largely urban low- and middle-income male workers and students. Eighty percent of school children were found to buy street food every day.
- Consumers mostly choose ugali, rice, beans, chicken, fish, meat, chapatti, doughnuts, and black tea (more carbonated drinks in larger urban areas). The variety of food choice depends on cost and food habits, less on nutritional value.
- Most street foods consumed in Tanzania are calorie-dense, high in fat and carbohydrate content. Low temperature deep-frying on charcoal results in more oil contained in the food. In 2004, street food provided three fourths of calorie intake of the urban poor and middle-income groups. However, street food does not seem to be the primary responsible for spreading of overweight among urban dwellers.
- Consumers eat little street food rich in micronutrients (vegetables and fruit). Vitamin and mineral deficiencies have negative impact on concentration of children. Many snacks consumed by school children have iodized salt.
- Street food consumers tend to rely on nutrition information provided by health professionals. Yet, they show to have more subjective opinions than objective knowledge on nutrition. Lower educated street food consumers use nutrition information more than higher educated ones.
- High rates of street food are generally carrying high concentration of microbial contamination (Staphylococcus Aureus, Salmonella, Escherichia Coli, fungi) beyond the Codex safety standards. High heavy metal contamination is found in protein-rich foods (beans, meat, fish, milk) and green vegetables
- The main reasons of street food contamination include: unsanitary environment; poor food handling (e.g. dirty containers; unprotected display and exposition to dust, car fumes, flies from waste; service with hands; inadequate dish washing); many vendors never attended food safety training (whereas education was found to have a positive effect on food handling); contaminated water (fecal coliforms); foods' inner chemical characteristics (Ph). However, most vendors are found to observe safety and cleanliness measures.

Street food related policies, laws, and programmes

- The political approach towards street vending in Tanzania has always vacillated between tolerance and repression, in line with the wider political agenda and struggles for influence. Evidence shows that the policies of eviction, reallocation and illegality against street vendors are detrimental not only to vendors, but also to local authorities – due to costs of policing and weakened legitimacy among the urban poor – and to consumers – as food safety issues may arise from the inability of vendors to invest in improved fixed assets.
- At present, there is no national street vending policy, which causes differentiated treatment of street vendors from one place to another. Most street vendors remain informal, and even when they are granted a license, the lack of legally protected vending spaces make them as a whole (both, licensed and unlicensed ones) vulnerable. They still have no recognition as

legitimate economic actors, and without legal reform to protect their constitutional rights, street vendors remain vulnerable to eviction and harassment. Such condition marginalizes them in the public eye, in the mind of policy makers and politicians, in cultural and political discourse.

- At national level, there are several laws that currently apply or are relevant to street food vending in Tanzania: Laws that regulate Business licensing, Food safety, Urban planning. These latter in particular constitute the legal backing for evictions of most street food vendors. However, despite the legal ban against street vending, authorities are de-facto faced with the need to monitor informal street food vendors' compliance with food hygiene and safety standards.
- At local level, each Municipal Council is in charge of issuing by-laws regulating business licensing, fees, fines, public space use, waste management, food inspections. Yet, all of them tend to restrict street vending and make it virtually impossible to obtain a license or permit to trade legally by imposing unattainable requirements. At the ward level, the correct functioning of inspections is currently undermined by unclear charges to defaulters, and by inadequate number of health officers.
- The government of Tanzania is committed to the development of small-scale business through the Small Industrial Development Organization (SIDO), which gives small grants to people who wish to carry out small-scale businesses. However, interventions directly aimed at creating a better environment for street food vendors have been very few and scattered.

1. STREET FOOD VENDING

1.1 Food and beverage on sale

What foods and beverages are sold in the streets of Dar es Salaam and other cities of Tanzania? Which foods are more commonly sold? Which ones are less commonly sold? Why?

A large variety of street food can be found in urban areas across Tanzania. The most common foods served by street vendors in the country are made primarily from energy-dense ingredients rich in carbohydrates (e.g. grains, tubers), proteins (e.g. meat, fish, eggs), and fat (e.g. deep-fried food), such as chapatti, *mandazi, ugali*, rice served with beans, meat or fish, meat soup, grilled meat skewers, *kababu* sausage, grilled sweet potatoes, grilled or fried cassava, samoosas filled with meat or vegetables, Zanzibar pizza, egg chops, boiled eggs, *chipsi mayai*, grilled maize combs.

Prepackaged, industrialized sweets and sweetened carbonated beverages are also a very common item sold by street food vendors in Tanzania (Zvar Hurtig, 2009).

Generally, the use of micronutrient-rich ingredients, such as vegetables and fruits, is low. While vegetables (generally okra, collard greens, kale, cassava leaves) are usually served as a side dish in small quantities (always complementary to other main foods, and never alone), fruits are largely neglected by vendors who sell whole meals (the only fruit that they usually sell being banana, made in soup or grilled, providing starch rather than vitamins), while there are a few vendors specialized in fruit salad and juice, which tend to vary by season (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

List of street foods and beverages sold in Tanzania

Food made mainly from cereals, roots, tubers

- *Bhel Puri*
- Bread
- Cassava (boiled)
- Cassava (fried)
- Cassava (grilled)
- Chapatti (fried)
- Dahi Puri / Sev Puri
- Doughnut (wheat) (Andazi, Kaukau)
- Maize (roasted)
- Maize grains and beans (Kande)
- Pancake (fried)
- Panipuri
- Popcorn
- Porridge
- Potato egg omelette (Chipsi mayai)
- Potatoes (buttered fried) (*Kachori*)
- Potatoes (grilled)
- Rice (boiled)
- Rice (fried) (*Pilau*)

Food made primarily from meat, fish, eggs

- Beef (soup / stew)
- Beef (grilled)
- Chicken (fried)
- Chicken (grilled)
- Chicken (soup / stew)
- Egg chops
- Eggs (boiled)
- Eggs (fried)
- Fish (dried) (*Dagaa*)
- Fish (fried)
- Fish (grilled)
- Gizzards (*Firigisi*)
- Livers (*Maini*)
- Mtori
- Offals (*Utumbo*)
- Potato egg omelette (*Chipsi mayai*)
- Samoosas (meat)
- *Senene*
- Zanzibar Pizza

Food made primarily from vegetables

- Samoosas (vegetables)
- Vegetable mix (boiled / steamed)
- Vegetable mix (fried)
- Vegetable salad (raw)
- Vegetable soup

Food primarily made from sugar

- Biscuits
- Candies
- Ice cream (with water and sugar)
- Jam
- *Kashata*
- Sweet spreadable creams

Home-made beverages

- Freshly squeezed fruit juice
- Coconut water
- Coffee
- Dairy milk

- Rice (puffed) (*Cheuro*)
- *Ugali*
- Wheat mix (fried) (*Visheti*)
- Zanzibar mix (*Urojo*)

Food primarily made from dairy milk

- Milk
- Cheese
- Ice cream (with milk)
- Yogurt

Food made primarily from legumes, nuts

- Beans
- Baobab seeds (coloured,flavoured) (Ubuyu)
- Cow pea balls (fried) (*Bagia*)
- Groundnuts (fried)
- Groundnuts (roasted)
- Peanuts
- Simsim seed (fried) (*Ufuta*)

- Local beer
- Milk shakes
- Tea
- Vegetable milk
- Wines and Spirits

Such an unbalanced menu was recorded some years ago (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007; Kinabo, 2003), and things seem to have remained unchanged ever since. The main reasons for choosing to sell certain foods include consumer preferences, cost of ingredients, and lack of nutritional and cooking knowledge, rather than availability and durability of ingredients or their nutritional quality (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007). Indeed, most consumers tend to prioritize the fulfillment of energy rather than micronutrient requirements, and thus ask for those products (e.g. starchy food, grains, eggs, beans) that have a relatively lower cost per unit of energy compared to fruit and vegetables. As recorded by Nyaruhucha *et al.* (2007), when fruits are in season they are cheaper and would thus be more affordable for consumers, but vendors feel that the sale of seasonal fruits is not profitable for them; on the contrary, when fruits are not in season, more profit could be made, but the cost of sale may exceed consumers' budget.

Moreover, the low demand and low offer of fruit and vegetables is due to the lack of knowledge among consumers about nutritionally balanced eating habits, as well as the lack of knowledge among vendors of how to prepare many indigenous vegetables (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

1.2 Street food vendors

How many street food vendors are there in Dar es Salaam and elsewhere in Tanzania? What is the vendors' personal profile (gender, age, family status, education level, socio-economic status)? What is the vendors' professional profile (reasons for selling, length of engagement in the sector, professional training)?

According to a 2003 survey of the Dar es Salaam City Council, more than one million people were making a living out of street vending in the city (Mramba, 2015). In 2017, the number of street vendors estimated in Dar es Salaam was between 150,000 and 250,000 (Msoka & Ackson, 2017). No official figures nor estimates were found, though, about the number of street vendors specifically selling food, due to the wide-spread informality of the sector which makes vendors "invisible" to public authorities. Taking as a reference the estimate by Marras, *et al.* (2016) of the number of street food vendors operating in Accra, Ghana, and assuming that Dar es Salaam has a comparable density of street food vendors per square km as Accra (37), and a comparable number of

inhabitants per vendor (320), we could estimate that street food vendors operating in Dar es Salaam are likely between 14,000 and 59,000.

While in 2007 the majority of food vendors reported to have one employee only (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007), one decade later, street food businesses are reported to employ between 3 to 6 persons each (Marobhe & Sabai, 2016), including the owner – who is usually responsible for buying food stuff and ingredients – and kitchen assistants – who cook and serve food, wash utensils and clean up the selling point. Street food businesses are usually owned and operated by individuals or families (Hilmi, 2016), and most owners rely on unpaid family labour (including children, siblings, and other relatives), while some hire paid labours, and very few run the business by themselves (Milanzi, 2011).

Street food vending in Tanzania (like in most developing countries) is largely dominated by women, who account for 80-90% of all vendors and are locally called "*Mama Lishe*" or "*Mama Ntilie*" in Kiswahili. Most of them are between 20 and 45 years old, and about half are married with children (although a slight increase of singles can be recorded over the last ten years). The large majority completed only primary school (Raphael & Mrema, 2017; Marobhe & Sabai, 2016; Daudi, 2015; Maingwa, 2015; Rugemalila, 2015; Magehema, 2014; Simforian, 2013; Rutahindurwa, 2013; Milanzi, 2011; Bumarwa, 2009; Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

There are push and pull factors leading women to food vending business: push factors include divorce, death of spouse, dissatisfaction with salaried jobs, lack of available work; pull factors include need for independence, need for challenges, improved financial opportunity, self-fulfillment, desire to be own boss, flexibility for balancing family and work (Rutahindurwa, 2013). Among all the employment options, street food vending is the most viable one for those low-educated, low-income women who experience limited access to the formal waged labor market. Such business, indeed, requires no formal education and low start-up investment, especially when carried out on an informal basis. According to Milanzi, in 2011 the investment to start up a street food business ranged between 10,000 and 19,000 TSh, which was largely sourced from own savings or from borrowings from relatives or friends. The majority of female vendors did house work before starting this business (Milanzi, 2011), and only very few had received or participated in any training regarding the running of street food business (Candefjord & Nilsson, 2015; Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007). In many cases, these women become the main (or the only) breadwinners of their household (Kindo, 2016), and although their revenues are usually small, they contribute significantly to the household capacity to cope with basic needs (e.g. clothing, school fees, health care) (Milanzi, 2011). Moreover, food vending offers nutrition for the household on a (nearly) everyday basis even when the profit is low or absent (Tillerman, 2012).

Several studies highlighted that, as female vendors strive to balance their triple role of income generators, housewives, and mothers, they may not be able to devote enough time to none of them, thus experiencing poor social esteem, psychological feeling of deprivation, fears of child abuse and child labor, risk of poor performance in school; and these problems are seen as their individual responsibility instead as

a consequence of the socio-economic and political environment (Daudi, 2015).

Male vendors ("*Papa Lishe*") dominate the sale of chips from fixed cooking places, while women selling chips usually do so with no fixed selling point and in smaller pans on the side of the roads and near schools (Wegerif, 2017). Male vendors also account for the majority of fruit juice vendors (Simforian, 2013).

Finally, it was found that most vendors tend to engage in selling street food for just a few years (Simforian, 2013; Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

1.3 Vending spaces and time

Where (in which areas, neighborhoods, spaces) and when (in which days, hours) do street food vendors operate?

In the main cities – e.g. Dodoma, Dar es Salaam, Arusha – street food vendors mainly cluster in areas where the demand is higher due to the high concentration of low and middle income urban dwellers: inside and in the premises of traditional open air markets, around transportation terminals, bus stops, along commercial roads, near schools, construction sites, and offices (Kindo, 2016; Kinabo, 2003). According to Ndossi, (1992) and Nnko et al., (1998), the business is usually practiced in the streets, markets, around construction sites, near public institutions and industrial areas.

The access to such spaces is essential for vendors' ability to reach customers. However, they are periodically subject to a hostile political environment and evictions (Maingwa, 2015), which are in turn the hummus for police harassments and bribe payments (Tillerman, 2012). Vendor are thus forced either to change business locations regularly – which affects their ability to build a regular customer base (Maingwa, 2015) – or to avoid public spaces and operate, instead, in private vending spaces in residential areas and schools, accessed through informal private contacts and social capital (Tillerman, 2012).

On average, ten years ago, each school in Dar es Salaam had around ten vendors selling food within their premises, all of them operating only in that fixed location. Convenience was the main reason for selecting a certain vending location (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007). Another crucial reason is the possibility to receive timely information and warnings about the arrival of the police from neighboring vendors and people in the area (Tillerman, 2012).

Two decades ago, in order to remove vendors from the streets, two markets were built in Dar es Salaam (namely, Makumbusho and Temeke Stereo Market) providing 500 sales spaces. The markets remained almost entirely unused, mainly due to their location, far from the bus stops and busy streets (Argenti and Marocchino, 2005).

Regarding vending outlets, some vendors have permanently fixed spaces built of cement-sand block walls and roofed with corrugated iron sheets that are found attached to designated marketplaces or within the formal building systems along a street (Mbisso, 2011). Most of them, however, due to the uncertainty of the political environment and the

limited career duration, operate outdoors or under a rudimentary roof of iron sheets held up by a wooden frame. Some vendors provide their customers low-cost plastic seating facilities (Hilmi, 2016).

No study reporting the schedule of street food vending was found in literature.

1.4 Ingredient sources

Where do they buy ingredients? (e.g. traditional markets, wholesale markets, retail shops, supermarkets, producers, own production)

Most street food vendors purchase ingredients from local markets (e.g. Buguruni and Sterio) (Simforian, 2013; Milanzi, 2011; Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007), wholesale markets (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007), and retail shops (Milanzi, 2011; Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007). A few of them source directly from the local farmers (Kindo, 2016; Hilmi, 2016; Milanzi, 2011; Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007) or from their own plots where they grow maize, rice, beans, and vegetables (Terevaeli, 2014; Milanzi, 2011; Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007). Other items such as cooking oil, and sugar are purchased from different places (Milanzi, 2011).

Those street food vendors who buy fresh produce locally, linking their enterprises directly with small-scale farms and market gardens (Hilmi, 2016), not only benefit the local economy, but also the population at large, since they provide inexpensive food and thus food access to lower-income dwellers, although a significant part of their contribution goes uncounted due to their widespread informality (Kindo, 2016).

Regarding the water used for dilution of fruit juices, deep wells and tap water are the main sources, depending on the location, whereas vendors in Temeke mostly get water from deep wells, while those in Kinondoni and Songea use tap water, and those in Ilala rely on both sources (Simforian, 2013; Magehema, 2014)

1.5 Economic turnover and business performance

How much do vendors spend to run their business? How much do they earn? How many customers do they serve on average? What factors affect street food business economic performance?

In Dar es Salaam, in 2003, on average 168 people visited one street food vendor per day (Kinabo, 2003).

Very few studies report economic data on street food vending in Dar es Salaam, and they show divergent findings due to dissimilar samples and survey locations. A 2011 study in Morogoro found that, after paying the rent for the premises of their business (that can go from 1,000 to over 20,000 TSh per month) and the cost to buy ingredients (between 25,000 and 34,000 TSh per day), most vendor's daily profit ranges between 5,000 and 20,000 TSh, with almost half earning between 10,000 to 15,000 TSh (Milanzi, 2011). Other studies in Tanga and Zanzibar reported a net daily profit for the vendors reaching about 3,000 TSh (Maingwa, 2015; Andersson, 2009). A recent study carried out in Songea

found that the mean net profit from food vending was much higher, ranging between TSH 17,000 and 18,500 (Magehema, 2014).

Despite such differences, almost all vendors reported that their business provided profit, and that street food vending was the major or only sources of income for their household (Rutahindurwa, 2013; Milanzi, 2011; Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007). According to a vendor interviewed by Andersson in 2009 in Zanzibar, a 3,000 TSh profit was sufficient for paying for his own food and rent, and even allows him to save some money. Indeed, 3000 TSh a day amounts to approximately 90,000 TSh a month, which at that time was just equivalent to the salaries of many low-cadre government employees (Andersson, 2009).

The business performance (measured as improvement of personal wealth) of street food vendors in Tanzania depends on several factors: word-of-mouth promotion (Hilmi, 2016), location (Hilmi, 2016; Milanzi, 2011), vendors' experience (Eijdenberg and Borner, 2017; Eijdenberg, 2016; Kindo, 2016), entrepreneurial skills (Raphael & Mrema, 2017; Kindo, 2016; Maingwa, 2015; Milanzi, 2011; Gogadi, 2011), capital and access to financial credit (Raphael & Mrema, 2017; Maingwa, 2015; Tillerman, 2012; Milanzi, 2011; Gogadi, 2011), competition (Rutahindurwa, 2013; Tillerman, 2012), political and legal environment (Rutahindurwa, 2013), food market prices (Tillerman, 2012).

First of all, we find that vendors in town centre earn more than those in the periphery (Zobida Habib *et al.*, 2011). However, better locations attract more vendors, and thus increased competition that reduces individual revenues (Tillerman, 2012). An important remark was done by ILO, UNIDO, and UNDP as they highlighted that in turning the domestic market into a global market, trade liberalisation can put Mama Lishes in competition with American-like fast foods, but also with the Nokias, Erikssons and Motorolas, as they are all competing for the limited purchasing power of more or less the same Tanzanian low-middle-income consumer base (ILO, UNIDO, UNDP, 2002).

Secondly, most vendors lack formal entrepreneurial training and business experience, which leads to poor financial management, poor or nonexistent sale records, inability to seek expert advice and mobilize resources, limited business networks (Kindo, 2016; Maingwa, 2015; Milanzi, 2011).

Thirdly, seasonal price fluctuations increase operation costs for vending and decrease the flow of customers resulting in declining incomes (Tillerman, 2012).

Finally, gender seems to affect business performance. Indeed, female vendors tend to have lower profit than male vendors (Zobida Habib *et al.*, 2011). First of all, studies have shown that female food vendors have higher labor burden and less chances to develop their business as opposed to men because most of them juggle both street vending, home keeping, and child caring, which limits their mobility and business hours (Maingwa, 2015; Tillerman, 2012). Moreover, in Tanzania, women are viewed by the bank system as a high risk in investment since they lack control over land and other properties which formal financial institutions view as collateral (Kindo, 2016). Most female food vendors cope with the need for capital by borrowing money from relatives or using personal savings, while a smaller share get loans from credit institutions (Daudi,

2015; Tillerman, 2012). Limited access to financial credit and the dependence on informal, volatile and unreliable sources of financial capital are significantly hindering the development and sustainability of street food businesses, and those who start with under capitalization, usually continue with poor management of working capital (Maingwa, 2015).

We must also note that Eijdenberg and Borner have come to an apparently opposite conclusion, namely that gender does not affect the performance of street food businesses (Eijdenberg and Borner, 2017; Eijdenberg, 2016). The same authors also found no connection between performance and vendors' education (Eijdenberg and Borner, 2017; Eijdenberg, 2016), which contrasts with Kindo's finding that low education contributes to low performance of women in food vending activities (Kindo, 2016).

Finally, a counterintuitive finding comes from a study in Songea, showing that the financial, technical, and infrastructural support provided by the local government to street food vendors did not have a significant impact on their revenues (Magehema, 2014).

1.6 Waste management

How do vendors manage their waste?

Then years ago, a significant proportion of street food vendors operating in school premises in Dar es Salaam were found disposing garbage in trash receptacles, although many threw it in open gutters and on the streets (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007). More recently, a study on *Mama Lishe* in Kivukoni Waterfront found that they feel a responsibility for the waterfront and want to maintain it by engaging in cleaning up the beach on several occasions and by having Green Waste Pro Limited collecting their waste on a regular basis (Candefjord & Nilsson, 2015).

In Songea, most street food vendors were recently found to dispose waste to dumping areas created by the local government (LGA) (Magehema, 2014). In the town of Kilindoni, most leftover from *Mama Lishe* (approximately two kilograms of *ugali*, rice and cassava, and more than half a kilo of grated coconut per day) were dumped in landfill, while the rest was reused as feed for crab farming (Hamad, 2012).

1.7 Legal status

Do many street food vendors operate with no vending permit? (indicate a percentage, if available)
What are the main reasons for not having a permit? What are the consequences?

Most street food vendors in Tanzania operate without a regular vending license, but the share of licensed businesses has slightly increased significantly in the last 15 years (from 24% to 32%) (Daudi, 2015; Milanzi, 2011; Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007; ILO, UNIDO, UNDP, 2002).

Nowadays, despite the legal requirements and sporadic hunts, the Government generally allows street food vendors to operate without license and without paying tax (Rutahindurwa, 2013).

Many vendors do not get a license the moment they begin their activity because they are still uncertain about their ability and willingness to carry it out for long. Some point to high registration fees, while others simply do not know the licensing procedures (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007). Indeed, licensing can be cumbersome, since to operate as a food service legally, the law requires a separate kitchen from the one for family use, premises with toilets and running water, food conservation equipment, health inspection of employees, etc, and few *Mama Lishes* can afford to comply with these specifications and standards, and certainly not at start up (ILO, UNIDO, UNDP, 2002).

Moreover, vendors oppose licensing and taxation because they lament that the local government collects money from them, but no development is done (Israel, 2013; Rutahindurwa, 2013). Like a dog chasing its tail, though, running unregistered businesses prevents them from benefiting from government Small and Medium Enterprises' packages catered to develop the sector, and from getting finances from financial institutions (Daudi, 2015).

Between formal (licensed) and informal (unlicensed) vendors, Tillerman recognizes the existence of semi-formal businesses (Tillerman, 2012), that is, food vendors who enter into private agreements with schools to sell food items within their premise, against a small ??. In this cases, official permits are not required (or, at least, vendors believe they do not need one), nor are inspections carried out by government authorities (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

1.8 Vendor associations

Are there street food vendor associations in Tanzania?

There has always been a lack of a strong organization among vendor in Tanzania (Brown, 2015; Brown *et al.*, 2010). It was not until 2015, as election neared, that a coordinated vendor organization emerged (Msoka & Ackson, 2017), but the outcomes of its efforts are yet to come.

Tanzania street vending associations are still weak and often unofficial, hence unable to defend the needs, and rights of the street vendors (Mramba, 2015). Until a few years ago, street food vendors have not been able to constitute themselves into organized associations which could enable them to access credit, information and purchase more expensive food items of better nutritional quality and be better able to develop business codes and interact with food control agencies (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

Not until the 1990s were petty traders given any recognition, when some scope for action was leveraged by the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project, and the acceptance and organization of petty trade as an economic actor in its own right was advocated by the Working Group on Managing Informal Micro-Trade. However, high-level political intervention during the following decade has hindered such goal: the eviction and partial relocation of street vendors, the lack of secure access to space,

the ensuing economic losses and negative social labeling created an environment of spatial impermanence, economic insecurity, and social marginalization which lacked the necessary conditions for the development of a strong grassroots movement and political networks (Lyons and Brown, 2008).

1.9 The physical risks of street vending

What are the physical risks faced by street food vendors?

The physical risks that street food vendors face while working go often unseen. First of all, working in the street, especially at night, brings risks of being attacked or harassed by customers or random offenders. Even within markets, vendors reported to be verbally abused and economically exploited at times; some people don't pay the food, and vendors do not react as they fear to lose a costumer (Boustedt & Mair, 2013), but also because they have no association they can rely on to defend their rights, and their informal status make them fearful to rely on public authorities and the police.

It was noted that many street food vendors in Dar es Salaam are aware of how harmful inhalation of charcoal fire smoke could be for them and their customers, and some of them would use charcoal very sparingly to cook, and covered their mouth and noses with a wet cloth. Some street food vendors would also collect ash from their charcoal fires and store it in sacs to avert them inhaling the ash, as well as to barter with farmers who would use it in their fields (Hilmi 2016).

Finally, as they operate long hours outdoors, especially when working at night, vendors are at high risk of contracting malaria (Makungu *et al.*, 2017)

2. STREET FOOD CONSUMPTION

2.1 Consumers

Who eats street food (gender, age, education level, occupation, economic status)? Why do people eat street food?

Street food consumers are largely urban low- and middle-income male/female?? workers and students (Candefjord & Nilsson, 2015; Majura, 2013; Riggio, 2012; FAO, 2008; Kinabo, 2003).

The first reason for the widespread consumption of street food in urban areas compared to rural areas is the urban lifestyles that force urban dwellers (workers, students, caregivers) to spend long hours away from home, which makes preparation of home meals more infrequent, and the demand for quick, nutritious, inexpensive food out of the house higher (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

Cost of street food is one of the reasons (Bumarwa, 2009). The cost of a meal bought on the side of the road in Dar es Salaam can be between twice to eight times as low as the cost of a meal in a brick and mortar restaurant and in a high range hotel (Kindo, 2016). Street food can even be cheaper than a home meal, and many households buy food from vendors to save on the cost of food ingredients and cooking fuel, as well as to avoid preparation time (Kinabo, 2003).

Some years ago, the main reasons that brought many primary and secondary school students in Tanzania to eat street food was the fact that the country had not institutionalized school meals, and schools did not have canteens nor served food (Zvar Hurtig, 2009; FAO, 2008). A typical school day is seven hours long and only a few pupils brought food from home, but were rather provided with a small amount of money by their parents to purchase either breakfast, lunch or snacks during breaks (Zvar Hurtig, 2009). A recent study in Chamwino District, Dodoma region found that drawing on street vendors for school-based feeding programming overcomes many of the difficulties of on-site preparation of meals, and may be one of the least costly ways to feed children in schools. However, even these programs incur costs in monitoring and supervision (Sagenge, 2015).

2.2 Food choice

What street foods are more commonly consumed? Which ones are consumed less? Why?

No study was found reporting a list of the specific street foods that are mostly consumed by Tanzania, out of the large variety of those available on the market. Only one study carried out in Songea, a small inland city, found that the great majority of consumers eat *ugali*, rice, beans, chicken, meat, chapatti, and doughnuts, and drink black tea (Magehema, 2014). We can assume that the same menu can be considered the basis for the whole country, with fish added to the menu in coastal regions, and more carbonated drinks consumed in larger urban areas.

The variety of street food consumed by Tanzanian depends on availability of ingredient, cost, and food habits, whereas the nutritional value was found, a few years ago, to have least influence on food choice (Zvar Hurtig, 2009).

An in-depth study on street food consumption among school children carried out a decade ago found that the types of foods consumed were limited, and the meals lacked variety or diversification. The dominating street foods consumed were small snacks of some kind rather than complete meals, mainly due to taste preferences and the higher cost of the latter that most children cannot afford given the small amount of money provided by their parents (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

Chapatti with juice or black tea made the most common breakfast. Fried cassava (usually served with a salad of tomatoes, onions and chilli pepper), samosas, and fried potatoes were the most popular mid-morning snacks, with sweetened frozen colored water as a drink. In the afternoon, many pupils ate

oranges (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007). Most children chose the moredense, more filling snacks rather than biscuits or *bagia* (small fried cowpea flour ball) (Zvar Hurtig 2009).

2.3 Time and frequency of consumption

When and how often do people eat street food?

Almost no study was found reporting the time and frequency of street food in Tanzania.

Around ten years ago, about 80% of school children were found to buy street food every day, with a higher percentage in urban areas compared to rural areas (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007; Zvar Hurtig, 2009).

More recently, street food customers were found to have a higher consumption frequency of diet soda and a lower consumption frequency of chips than supermarket customers; however, both showed low consumption frequencies (Mwana, 2013).

2.4 Nutritional contribution of street food

To what extent does street food provide nutrients to consumers? What is the share of protein, carbohydrates, fats, vitamins, minerals, water intake from street food over total intake? What are the effects on consumers' health? Do consumers have knowledge about nutritional quality of street food?

In 2004, in Dar-Es-Salaam, street foods accounted for almost three-quarters of the total calorie intake of the urban poor and middle-income groups (Kinabo, 2004; 2003). Indeed, urban dwellers tended to consume calorie-dense street foods, with a high fat and carbohydrate content (Ameye, 2016; FAO, 2008; Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

Looking at school children, it was found that, although the nutritional quality of street food (mostly deep-fried snacks) and drinks (e.g. sweetened, and artificially and/or naturally coloured and flavoured) consumed by them was adequate as far as energy content was concerned, their overall nutritional intake was inadequate, being poor in protein and micronutrients (e.g. a negligible amount of vitamins from natural flavouring agents like baobab fruit and tamarind) (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007). It was also found that many of the snacks consumed by school children were salted, and since most salt intended for human consumption in Tanzania is iodized, these foods may be a source of iodine for the children (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

Common street food preparation methods have a considerable impact on the nutritional quality of the final product. For instance, the high fat content in deep-fried foods is mainly resulting from the fact that street food vendors fry at low temperature, which makes food items absorb more oil (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007). Other preparation methods often used – like boiling food for too long or soaking the maize before milling and the discard of water afterwards or removal of the bran – result in nutrient losses, mainly of vitamins and minerals (Zvar Hurtig, 2009).

The study by Nyaruhucha *et al.* (2007) concluded that the street food available near schools negatively impacts the concentration levels of the

children, since it is a primary cause of vitamin and mineral deficiencies (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

On the other hand, street food does not seem to be the primary responsible for the spreading of overweight among urban dwellers. Indeed, a recent study found that supermarket customers have a higher Body Mass Index (BMI) compared to street food customers who in turn show a lower BMI (Mwana, 2013). Such finding is in line with that of Nyaruhucha *et al.* (2007) according to which a higher rate of overweight pupils was recorded in Makongo Primary School, where many of the pupils came from households of the high socio-economic strata, and consumed more home meals (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

Moreover, although street food is often fat and oily, most street food vendors reported using fresh cooking oil daily rather than weekly, because the amount of oil they can afford to buy is usually very small. Therefore, health risk due to repeated use of cooking oil is lower (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

A 2007 study recorded that street food vendors did not feel that they knew a lot about nutrition. They were aware of the importance of food in providing energy and many knew those foods that provide protein, carbohydrate and fat. However, they did not mention any micronutrients present in food (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

More recently, another study recorded the nutrition knowledge among street food consumers, compared to supermarket customers. Findings showed that the latter had a higher perception of the adequacy of salt, sugar, and fat in their diet, as well of the variety of foods consumed; street food consumers had instead a higher perception of consuming an adequate amount of proteins. Seemingly a paradox, street food consumers had a significantly higher interest in health, claiming to always follow a balanced diet, and recognizing the importance of eating less fat and sugars and more vitamins and minerals. Another apparent contradiction is the fact that supermarket customers had more objective nutrition knowledge, while the former had more subjective opinions, although these latter tended to rely on nutrition information provided by Doctors or other health professionals and nutritionists, while the former relied more on mass media and advertisements. Finally, a counterintuitive fact was found, that is, that street food consumers, lower educated ones use nutrition information more than higher educated ones (Mwana, 2013).

2.5 Safety of street food

How safe are street foods for consumers in Tanzania? What is the level of biological, chemical, and physical contamination detected in street food? What are the main causes of contamination? What are the effects on consumers' health?

Often than not, the street food vending business has been associated with food poisoning outbreaks (FAO, 1989; Malijah and Kambaila, 1992; Allain, 1991; Nnko *et al*. 1998). This calls for a need to foster a better understanding of hygienic handling practices and safety aspects of food

among the stake-holders, these being the vendors themselves and the consumers.

Assessments of physicochemical characteristics and microbial quality of street foods sold in Dar es Salaam have been carried out over the last years (Marobhe & Sabai, 2016; Nonga *et al.*, 2015; Simforian, 2013; Tiisekwa, 2013; Ngassapa *et al.*, 2010; Abdullsalam *et al.*, 1993). Tests were done mainly on fruit, juices, beans, fish, milk, rice, and vegetable samples collected from street food vendors in different areas of the city.

Almost three decades ago, association of Shigella with contamination of street food had been well documented (Abdullsalam *et al.*, 1993). More recently, tests on rice and beans sold by street vendors showed high concentration of Staphylococcus Aureus, Salmonella, and Escherichia Coli (Marobhe & Sabai, 2016). High rates of fruit salad and unpasteurized fruit juice are generally carrying high concentration of microbial contamination (e.g. coliforms, fungi) beyond the Codex Alimentarius safety standards (Nonga *et al.*, 2015; Tiisekwa, 2013). However, Salmonella does not seem to be a threat to juice consumers (Simforian, 2013; Tiisekwa, 2013).

Overall, the current situation poses health risks to the public (as well as losses to food vendors due to spoilage) (Nonga *et al.*, 2015). The contamination of street food puts consumers at a high risk of contracting infectious diseases[1] (Marobhe & Sabai, 2016). For instance, almost thirty years ago, several outbreak of disease (including shigellosis) were deemed to be a consequence of consumption of contaminated street food (Abdullsalam *et al.*, 1993). A recent study linked the incidence of Shigellosis among children under 5 years of age in Unguja Island, Zanzibar, to the consumption of street food, reporting other studies' findings according to which potato salad, vegetables and junk food sold in the area had high prevalence of Shigella and caused food borne diseases and a large diarrhoea outbreak (Omar, 2015).

Besides bacteriological contamination, heavy metal contamination can also be an issue when it comes to protein-rich foods (beans, meat, fish, milk) and green vegetables, with concentration of cadmium lead, copper, and zinc found to exceed international acceptable intake levels (Ngassapa *et al.*, 2010). Lead and cadmium, though, do not seem to be a threat to juice consumers (Simforian, 2013; Tiisekwa, 2013).

When school children were asked to indicate whether the foods sold by street vendors were safe to eat, most answered that they were not. According to half of them, some food (e.g. rice, samosas, kachori, and cassava) were less safe than others (e.g. baobab fruit, *kababu*, and fruits), the most important reason being the fact that the first were prepared under unhygienic conditions and were displayed uncovered. Most pupils state that hygiene (way more than price) is the most important criterion they use when they choose a vendor (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007)

[1] Generally, Salmonella and E. coli O157 should not be present in any ready-to-eat product. Generic E. coli represents fecal contamination and should also not be present, but very low levels may be acceptable (e.g., < 1 log10 cfu/g). S. aureus will not produce entertoxins until >5 log10 cfu/g is reached, but the safety level should be much lower, possibly <2 log10 cfu/g.

Contamination of street food in Dar es Salaam was found to be due to several factors, mainly including poor food handling, contaminated water, and unhygienic environment.

First of all, many vendors work in unsanitary environments (Hilmi, 2016). When the fixed structure of Buguruni market was built in 2000, the kitchen department was supposed to have a space under the roof, but food vendors were pushed away by produce vendors and are now working outside the structure under patched makeshift roofs, cooking on the ground and on wooden tables (Boustedt & Mair, 2013). In Temeke, female vendors were found to operate in spaces with higher risk factors, while males had better places with adequate facilities. Due to this, the former experienced more frequently symptoms of food borne diseases (Rugemalila, 2015).

In many cases researchers found that street vendors do not comply with adequate food handling practices causing pathogenic cross contamination and deeming the products unsafe for consumption (Tiisekwa, 2013). This was reported at all stages, from preparation to storage, display, and service. One study showed that fruit juice extraction methods were very poor (Simforian, 2013). Others reported that food was stored in dirty containers and on inadequate shelves (Marobhe & Sabai, 2016; Nonga *et al.*, 2015; Rugemalila, 2015) or displayed unprotected, which increases the risk of contamination when the vending site is unsanitary, as it was often found: food was often reported to be exposed to dirt and dust (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007), stagnant water, car fumes (Rugemalila, 2015) and flies (Omar, 2015; Rugemalila, 2015). The presence of flies, who play a major role as mechanical vectors for pathogens transmission, is often caused by poor waste management at the vending site, and lack of bins and garbage disposal areas (Simforian, 2013; Rugemalila, 2015; Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

The importance of food protection from environmental pollutants (either by storing it in closed containers or by cooking in closed spaces) is suggested by the finding that unpasteurized fruit juices vended at markets and roadside were significantly more contaminated than those sold in restaurants and kiosks (Simforian, 2013). However, operating in closed spaces does not always guarantee the safety of food. For instance, inside the same Buguruni market, some food vendors operate in narrow spaces next to raw meat or fish stands, which may cause cross-contamination (Boustedt & Mair, 2013).

When serving food, very few vendors are seen using special serving utensils (spoons, forks, etc). Most commonly, food is picked up by hand and placed in old newspaper wrapping, which can cause lead contamination from the ink that is absorbed into food, particularly in greasy one. Some vendors near schools allow children to pick out the food items themselves with their bare hands, a practice which could easily lead to microbial contamination of the food (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

One decade ago, the great majority of street food vendors were reported to rinse plates and cups with soap and water (either cold or hot) (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007). More recently, although most vendors were reported washing their hands and kitchen tools regularly, washing procedures were deemed inadequate by researchers, who also

highlighted the use of heavily polluted water (Marobhe & Sabai, 2016; Simforian, 2013). This is mainly a consequence of the lack of necessary and adequate water supply facilities accessible to the vendors, which was the case in the past (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007) as much as it is now (Rugemalila, 2015; Majura, 2013). Recent tests on water from storage containers used by street vendors to wash food and utensils showed high concentration of fecal coliforms[2]. Although the water in storage containers are intended for cleaning kitchen utensils, hand washing and not for drinking purpose, such high fecal coliforms levels in the water could jeopardize the safety of the cooked food (Marobhe & Sabai, 2016).

Vendors' poor personal hygiene increases the hazard (Tiisekwa, 2013; Simforian, 2013). In some cases, unclean clothing, unprotected wounds, scabies, skin rash, long nails, skin scratching, and nose picking by vendors were recorded (Marobhe & Sabai, 2016; Rugemalila, 2015).

Unsatisfactory food handling and hygienic practices are to a certain extent due to vendors' lack of education in food safety and hygiene matters (Hilmi, 2016; Marobhe & Sabai, 2016; Tiisekwa, 2013). Indeed, lower levels of contamination were found in food sold by better educated vendors operating around health centers (Rugemalila, 2015). Until not long ago, a few vendors were found to be familiar with the Tanzania Food and Drugs Authority (TFDA), that is, the authority in charge of granting the food business license to all food services (Tiisekwa, 2013).

All this been said, we must note that the situation is not all gloomy, and some cases of safe practices can be found. In Buguruni marketplace, for instance, food vendors went through WHO training for hygiene and food safety since 1997, and they are in turn training other vendors. They cover their hair, wear white jackets and are careful with hand and dish washing (Boustedt & Mair, 2013).

Finally, it is important to note that besides the responsibilities of vendors and the environmental conditions, an often ignored element affecting the contamination level of foods is their inner chemical characteristics. For instance, low pH juices (e.g. passion and tamarind) tend to inhibit bacterial contamination, while high pH juices (e.g. mango) support it (Simforian, 2013).

3. STREET FOOD POLICIES, LAWS, AND PROGRAMMES

3.1 Historical overview of the political approach

What is the political approach that Tanzanian national and local policy makers have had throughout history towards street food vending?

[2] The World Health Organization (WHO) established bacteriological water quality guidelines for drinking water that requires no detectable levels of E. coli or coliform bacteria 22.

The political approach towards street vending in Tanzania has always vacillated between tolerance and repression, in line with the wider political agendas and struggles for influence (Lyons & Brown, 2009; 2008).

During colonial times, street vending in Dar es Salaam was heavily restricted and confined to the African settlements of Kariakoo, Ilala, and Temeke (Msoka & Ackson, 2017). As colonial authorities attempted to enforce their "modern" urban vision based on order and cleanliness, unlicensed street vending was seen as a public health threat and an activity undermining the planned organized trade inside the official markets. Periodic campaigns vainly attempted to eradicate vendors and hawkers from the streets, and in early 1960, Dar es Salaam's first African mayor, Amri Abedi, proposed that "street tea and food sellers should be given licenses to trade freely and hawkers licenses to move freely." After compromising with the opposition, restricted permission to operate unlicensed was granted to itinerant fruit and vegetable traders only, and the Police was in charge of pursuing any other street vendor with no permit. After independence, in the 1970s, African officials administrating urban centers maintained this approach, despite its manifest inadequacy (Mgaume and Leonard, 2004).

The mid-1970s and early 1980s economic crisis due to the failure of industrialization and lack of markets for agricultural produce generated unemployment and rural-urban migrations, and street vending became the most viable source of income for many people (Msoka & Ackson, 2017). In 1983, a penal code branded all self-employed people as "unproductive, idle and disorderly" and street trading as a subversive activity that challenged socialist principles (Nnkya, 2006). The government tried to curb street vending by sending unemployed youths to the rural areas for communal production of agricultural goods, but many returned to the city within short time. The growth of the street food sector, coupled with the inability of the governments to create jobs lead to a widespread shift in perceptions and an implicit if not explicit recognition of the inevitability of informal sector trade, making the case for the politicians to support street vendors, or at least to let them operate undisturbed (Msoka & Ackson, 2017; Lyons and Brown, 2008; Msoka, 2005, 2007).

This led, in 1983, to the Human Resources Deployment Act, known as *Nguvukazi* Act. This national law banned hawking and encouraged vendors to do business in known locations, and provided licenses to small vendors who were unable to rent formal business premises. Although some activities were still listed as illegal, including street food vending (Msoka & Ackson, 2017), the *Nguvukazi* Act gave street vending some legitimacy and contributed to its growth (Lyons and Brown, 2009). Indeed, by paying fees to the City Councils, vendors were, in a way, legalized, becoming a source of revenues for the public coffers. The City Commission's view of street vendors thus changed from a problem to a resource (Msoka & Ackson, 2017).

The 1992 Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project (SDP) – a collaboration between United Nations agencies and the State – identified petty trading as a key issue and established a Working Group on Managing Informal Micro-Trade. This group identified the constraints street traders faced

and made several recommendations. In 1997, the City Commission adopted the Guidelines for Petty Trade, which set out the framework for managing street vending, including street food. By the end of 1990s authorities expanded licensing beyond kiosks to include street tables and open-air vendors (Msoka & Ackson, 2017). New design solutions (e.g. steel shelves to display goods and standard tables) were developed to address the health concerns of authorities, facilitate the cleaning of public space, and give a more orderly aesthetic (Nnkya, 2006). The city council has been persuaded to adopt a consultative approach, which greatly helped in the implementation of the plan and resolved many issues such as street cleanliness (ILO, 2010). Nevertheless, implementation was often inconsistent due to haphazard management, and women vendors were often excluded, particularly in the more lucrative trading sites in the city business district (Nnkya, 2006).

In 2005, the SDP received broader support and pressure for reform from the President's Office with the institution of MKURABITA ("*Mpango wa Kurasimisha Rasilimali na Biashara za Wanyonge Tanzania*", Programme to Formalize the Property and Business of the Poor in Tanzania). Within the framework of MKURABITA, the Legal Empowerment of the Poor (LEP) reform attempted to formalize street vendors in an increasingly legalized neoliberal business environment, but it failed to progress. Although MKURABITA still exists, it has not been able to address the needs of the poor and micro-traders, partly due to the lack of policy focus on informal sector micro-traders (Msoka & Ackson, 2017; Lyons and Brown, 2009).

Meanwhile, in 2003, the *Nguvukazi* Act was cancelled, making hawking effectively illegal, and paving the way to repressive actions. In 2006 the Prime Minister issued an order requiring local authorities to remove informal petty vendors from the streets. Evictions took place in all large urban centers, but to stop the ensuing unrest and violence, the government delayed the implementation of such order to allow vendors to prepare. Evictions continued, and up to 1 million vendors lost their work (Mosoka, 2007; Lyons & Brown, 2008).

Forced evictions have often been coupled with failed attempts of reallocation. In 2011 the Dar es Salaam City Council built the "Machinga", a six-story complex meant to accommodate 10,000 street vendors. The building remained empty, reflecting a mismatch between its design and the needs of vendors. These latter pointed out that the location was not accessible to customers, rent was high, and they wanted to avoid paying tax. They thus kept selling from their stalls lined along major arteries such as Uhuru and Msimbazi Streets (Mramba, 2015).

Further mass clean-ups took place periodically between 2011-2014, resulting in further unrest (Msoka & Ackson, 2017; Brown, 2017; Brown *et al.*, 2014). It seems that the State, after tolerating and even supporting informal vending to make up for its inability to provide jobs, finally turned back against it, likely to tape resources from the growing size of the informal sector (Haji; 2010; Msoka, 2008), as well as to fit with the modern city image derived from the industrialized West and its aesthetical norms (Lyons and Brown, 2008). Indeed, the fears highlighted by the authorities to justify repression appear to be exaggerated: crime, street congestion, public health, and tax evasion with ensuing damage to

the economy appear not to be as serious (Lyons and Brown, 2008). On the contrary, evidence from history shows that the policies of eviction, reallocation and illegality against street vendors were detrimental not only to vendors, but also to local authorities – due to costs of policing (Lyons & Msoka, 2008) and weakened legitimacy among the urban poor (Mgaume and Leonard, 2004) – and to consumers – as food safety issues may arise from the inability of vendors to invest in improved fixed assets (Lyons and Msoka 2009; Lyon and Brown, 2009).

At present, there is no national street vending policy, which causes differentiated treatment of street vendors from one place to another. Most street vendors remain informal, and even when they are granted a license, the lack of legally protected vending spaces make them as a whole (both, licensed and unlicensed ones) vulnerable. They still have no recognition as legitimate economic actors, and without legal reform to protect their constitutional rights, street vendors remain vulnerable to eviction and harassment (Msoka & Ackson, 2017). Such condition marginalizes them in the public eye, in the mind of policy makers and politicians, in cultural and political discourse (Lyons and Brown, 2009).

3.2 Current legal framework

What national laws directly or indirectly affect (allow or forbid) street food vending? (e.g. Laws that regulate Business licensing, Food safety, Urban planning) What municipal by-laws and regulations directly or indirectly affect (allow or forbid) street food vending in Tanzania? (e.g. Business licensing, fees, fines; Public space use; Waste management; Food inspections, etc.)

At national level, there are several laws that currently apply or are relevant to street food vending in Tanzania. First of all, laws regulating business licensing and registration: the 1972 *Tanzania Licensing Act* requires every person doing business to possess a business license. Between 1983 and 2003, street vendors were issued licenses under the *Nguvukazi Act*. Since 2003, the *Business Licensing Act* abolished hawking licenses, hence making street vending business illegal (Lyons & Msoka, 2010). Furthermore, the 2007 *Tanzania Business Registration Act* did not incorporate street vending, meaning that all street vendors in the country go unregistered (Mramba, 2015).

The 1969 *Highway Act*, 1982 *Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act*, 2007 *Urban Planning Act n.8*, and 2007 *Roads Act* constitute the legal backing for evictions of most street food vendors: indeed, they allow food vending exclusively within designated markets, while prohibiting business in other areas not designated by planning authorities (Msoka & Ackson, 2017).

Table. **National laws and provisions relevant to street food vending in Tanzania**

Highway Act	1969	Street vending with display of goods or merchandise along a public highway is an offence punishable by fine (TSh 500) or a jail term (up to 3 months).

Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act	1982	Urban authorities' duties include: inspection of food and drinks; seize and destroy all foodstuffs unfit for human consumption; prevent public nuisance, which may harm public health and order; regulate noxious or dangerous trade or business; set fees and issue licenses or permits to facilitate the regulation of trade or business; prohibit unauthorized markets; regulate markets, construct market buildings; regulate trade outside established markets; regulating or prohibiting the use of streets in market areas.
Urban Planning Act n°8	2007	Any development on land is prohibited without the planning consent granted, which is a condition for the issue of licenses.
Roads Act	2007	Any person who obstructs free passage on a public road by exposing goods or carries on trade of any description thereon commits an offence and upon conviction shall be liable to a fine (TSh >300) or to imprisonment (up to 1 year).

Source: Msoka & Ackson, 2017

Msoka & Ackson (2017) highlighted that, by banning street vending, authorities completely disregard two important provisions included in the 2007 *Land Use Planning Act n.6*: (a) that planning must facilitate the creation of employment opportunities and eradication of poverty; (b) that land use plans must take into account needs and aspirations of the various sections of the population. All in all, the authors argue that the extent of legislation affecting street vending in Tanzania is contrary to the Constitution and infringes vendors' human rights (Msoka & Ackson, 2017).

Despite the legal ban against street vending, authorities are *de facto* faced with the need to monitor informal street food vendors' compliance with food hygiene and safety standards, under the 2003 *Tanzania Foods, Drugs and Cosmetic Acts* and the 2009 *Public Health Act*. The enforcement of these laws is the responsibility of the Tanzania Foods and Drugs Authority (TFDA), the Ward and the Municipal Health Officers (Marobhe & Sabai, 2016).

At local level, each Municipal Council is in charge of issuing by-laws regulating business licensing, fees, fines, public space use, waste management, food inspections, etc. Street food vending in Dar es Salaam is affected by different by-laws in each one of the five Municipalities (Kinondoni, Temeke, Iliala, Ububgo, Kigamboni). Yet, all of them restrict street vending and make it virtually impossible to obtain a license or permit to trade legally by imposing unattainable requirements (Msoka & Ackson, 2017).

Table. **Municipal bylaws and provisions relevant to street food vending in Dar es Salaam**

Kinondoni Municipal Council (KMC)		
Fees and Charges Bylaws	2004	• Licenses and permits are required for foodstuff vending and street markets. • Anyone vending on the street without license or permit is fined (up to TSh 50,000) or imprisoned (max 12 months). A fine receipt should be given.
Environmental Management Bylaws	2002	• Street food vendors must get permission from KMC, and pay application fees and license fees.
Waste Management and Refuse Collection Fees Bylaws	2000	• It restricts the use of packaging likely to cause waste, including using grasses, tree leaves, and plant material (easily affordable for food vendors) for packing perishable goods. • Nuisance caused by trade or refuse justifies removal of vendors. • Offenders vending are fined (up to TSh 50,000) or imprisoned (max 12 months).
Temeke Municipal Council (TMC)		
Markets Levies Bylaws, GN 309	2010	• Market users must have a lease agreement • Street food is prohibited without permit outside designated markets. • Offenders vending are fined (up to TSh 50,000) or imprisoned (max 6 months).
Environmental Pollution Control Bylaws, GN 310	2010	• It prohibits business operations, specifically selling food, without written permission and payment of a fee.
Road Usage/Traffic Control Bylaws, GN 311	2010	• It is prohibited for any person to conduct business activities in the road or other areas not designated for that purpose without permission.
Ilala Municipal Council (IMC)		
Environmental Cleanliness Bylaws, GN 111	2011	• Any business is prohibited in areas not specifically planned for it. • Food sellers need a permit, which can be revoked if conditions are infringed. • Offenders vending are fined (up to TSh 50,000) or imprisoned (max 12 months).
Road Use Bylaws, GN 108	2011	• It prohibits vending adjacent to the road, in order to prevent disruption to passage.
Market Levies Bylaws, GN 107	2011	• All business people operating in the market must be registered by the market officer. • It prohibits any business done outside designated areas.

Source: Msoka & Ackson, 2017

At the ward level, health officers are in charge of carrying out pre-opening inspections, follow-up inspections, and routine inspection. The correct functioning of the inspection system is currently undermined by unclear charges to defaulters, and by inadequate number of health officers to ensure the laws and regulations are enforced (Marobhe & Sabai, 2016).

3.3 Development interventions

What interventions aimed at developing street food vending have been implemented, either by government or non-governmental actors at national and local level in Tanzania?

The government of Tanzania is committed to the development of small-scale business through the Small Industrial Development Organization (SIDO), which gives small grants to people who wish to carry out small-scale businesses (Kindo, 2016).

However, interventions directly aimed at creating a better environment for street food vendors have been very few and scattered (Rutahindurwa, 2013).

In 1993, the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Programme (DSP) established a working group on the small trading sector so that this could be integrated into the economy of the city. A guide was prepared in 1995 to facilitate the integration of small traders, paving the way for micro-interventions in the city centre, an area traditionally invaded by street vendors. Among other interventions, a small fruit and vegetable market was set up for vendors operating in the busiest street in the city centre. This programme, implemented by the municipality in agreement with the vendors, resulted in: (a) licensing of informal businesses; (b) use of mobile stalls that made better use of vertical space creating less of an obstruction for pedestrians; (c) management and regular removal of refuse. These measures were implemented keeping in mind the financial resources of the vendors and the need to grant them the right to occupy public spaces. The group thus became a recognized market association and paid the municipality an annual license fee (Argenti and Marocchino, 2005; Argenti, 2003).

In 1996 a project was launched in three neighborhoods of Dar es Salaam (namely Magomeni, Kivukoni front, and University) to improve the areas used by mama lishe; the idea of moving the women's activities to more suitable areas was rejected as it was pointed out that the move would have involved a change in the customer base and costs that the women could not and were not prepared to sustain (Argenti and Marocchino, 2005).

More recently, in Songea district, loans and grants, training and capacity building, business areas, potable water and means of waste disposal were provided by the district authorities to street food vendors, although on a limited basis. A study assessing the impact of such interventions found that the little financial, technical, and infrastructural

support provided by LGA to food vendors had a very little impact on their profit and on the value of their assets (Magehema, 2014).

Besides public interventions, a few projects have been implemented by private sector and non-profit organizations. One of these is PRIDE, a micro financial institution (MFI) that aimed at empowering women food vendors in Dar es Salaam and Shinyanga both, economically and technically, by providing micro-finance services and high level of entrepreneurial skills. This allowed women food vendors to make major investments to expand their business, and at the same time improve their household's conditions, increase their role in decision making in the family, pay for children education, and save money. In turn, better conditions earned these women more respect from their community. However, PRIDE was hindered by low outreach and low loan repayment rate (Gogadi, 2011). In Shinyanga, PRIDE focused more on provision of loans and saving mobilization than on the provision of business skills, which made beneficiaries less able efficiently use the available financial resources (Raphael & Mrema, 2017).

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Virtually all the studies done on street food in Tanzania agree on the need to abandon any plan to eradicate street vending, and rather to undertake inclusive interventions that aim at its development in terms of legal status, economic performance, food safety, and nutritional quality.

With this aim, policies, laws, and regulations should be reviewed; vendors' skills improved; vendor organizations strengthened; access to credit increased; urban planning made more inclusive. If these interventions will be successful, then confrontations with urban authorities will be reduced, street vendor productivity and assets will increase, food safety and nutrition will improve, and urban space will be better organized. In order for this agenda to succeed, there is a need to build a strong relationship among key stakeholders (Mramba, 2015).

4.1 Inclusive urban planning and equipped spaces

The national urban planning framework should enable local government authorities to include street vending in their urban planning. Vendors should be assigned specific spaces (either in streets or markets) to undertake business. These places should be supplied with water, electricity, sewage systems, sanitary facilities (Marobhe & Sabai, 2016; Mramba, 2015; Majura, 2013; Rutahindurwa, 2013; Zobida Habib *et al.*, 2011; Mfaume and Leonard, 2004).

4.2 Suitable licensing and taxation procedures

At present, the government of Tanzania is unable to monitor street vendors and is losing money from tax evasion due to failure to incorporate informal businesses in formal identification arrangements.

Tanzania should develop a new mechanism of registration and taxation that suits the nature of street vending, building on simplified licensing procedures, feasible formalization requirements, and specific size, time, and mode of tax collection (Mramba, 2015; Mfaume and Leonard, 2004)

It is crucial that street vendors understand that they can benefit, directly and indirectly, from their formal status (Mramba, 2015), that being registered and monitored can help the Government and non-governmental organization to plan interventions to support them (Milanzi, 2011), and that it can protect them from being harassed from unscrupulous municipality officials (Zobida Habib *et al.*, 2011).

4.3 Strengthened vendor associations

Creating and strengthening vendor associations is crucial. Associations can indeed: (a) carry out an ongoing monitoring on their members' compliance to the regulation and adherence to appropriate food hygienic codes of practice; (b) be the focal point for induction seminars and trainings; (c) convey information on prices and negotiate better prices by purchasing quantities for collective use eventually enabling them to provide more nutritionally balance menus using ingredients that are otherwise too expensive; (d) arrange and coordinate the finance of the vendors, acting as saving and credit cooperatives, and as a bridge between vendors and financial institutions; (e) act as a lobby, giving voice to vendors' need (Marobhe & Sabai, 2016; Mramba, 2015; Magehema, 2014; Ntomola, 2014; Rutahindurwa, 2013; Zobida Habib *et al.*, 2011; Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

4.4 Increased financial support

Currently the Government of Tanzania is using a large amount of money to pay police to remove street vendors, and has spent large amount of public funds (TSh 32 billion) to build the Machinga complex, while it could spend that money for the development of vendors' skills and of vending sites' structural and infrastructural facilities (Mramba, 2015).

Moreover, the Government should encourage micro-finance institutions (MFIs) to provide financial support to vendors (Rutahindurwa, 2013; Gogadi, 2011; Milanzi, 2011).

4.5 Increased food safety

A food vending monitoring programme should be established and well enforced by the local health officers. Routine quality and safety assessment of locally vended food and inspection of selling premises should be carried out (Nonga *et al.*, 2015; Simforian, 2013; Rutahindurwa, 2013).

It is important that the authorities entrusted to enforce law and order exercise the trust with some restraints. Even if there could be justification for acting against street food vendors, balancing of interest is very important (Mfaume and Leonard, 2004).

Ward health officers should ensure that food vendors and their employees undergo medical examination periodically and their health records should be the basis for employment in the food vending activity (Marobhe & Sabai, 2016).

Stakeholders throughout the whole food value chain (from producers to consumers) should be educated on food safety and hygienic practices (Nonga *et al.*, 2015; Simforian, 2013; Rutahindurwa, 2013).

4.6 Improved nutritional quality

Nutrition education is needed, both for vendors and for consumers. Food vendors should be educated on nutritional needs of the population (Rutahindurwa, 2013).

Schools should play a crucial role when it comes to improve the nutritional status of children, and this should be done not only by improving the nutritional quality of street foods near schools (Zvar Hurtig, 2009) but also by educating schoolchildren on nutrition. Nutrition education would help create quality-conscious pupils who would be able to demand for high quality foods to vendors (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

Parents, finally, need to become more involved and realistic about the cost of a nutritious meal. The small amount of money that children get for buying street foods hinders improvement of street foods (Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007). For instance, in order for vendors to improve the nutritional quality of the foods they sell to children (e.g. by adding more fruit) it would be necessary to increase the price of the food, but it is felt that this would be a barrier for most of the children, as long as parents provide them with a small amount of money (Zvar Hurtig, 2009; Nyaruhucha *et al.*, 2007).

4.7 Increased business skills

Development programmes should include business skill education (e.g. on financial management, quality of the services, business opportunity) should be provided to street food vendors so as to enable them to understand factors likely to affect their business performance and how to overcome them (Magehema, 2014; Milanzi, 2011; Mfaume and Leonard, 2004)

REFERENCES

Abdalla, H. S., & Makame, O. M. (2017). Adoption of the new highly efficient cooking stoves by urban households in Zanzibar, Tanzania. *Journal of Development and Agricultural Economics*, *9*(11), 320-327. PDF

Ackson, T. (2015). 'Legal hostility' towards street vendors in Tanzania: a constitutional quandary?. *SADC Law Journal*, *4*(1 2014/2015), 144-163. Abstract

Allain, A. (1991). Street Foods: The Role and Needs of Consumers. Expert Consultation on Street Foods. Jugja karta, Indonesia. FAO Vol. 18 No. 4

Ameye, H. (2016). *Urbanization and the two tails of malnutrition in Tanzania*. LICOS Discussion Paper 388/2017. LICOS Centre for Institutions and Economic Performance, Leuven. PDF

Andersson, J. (2009). *Street trade, beach trade. On struggles over public space in Zanzibar.* Uppsala University. (Magister Thesis). PDF

Argenti, O. & Marocchino, C. (2005). *Urban food supply and distribution in developing countries and countries in transition. A guide for planners*. FAO, Rome. PDF

Argenti, O. (2003). *The informal food sector. Municipal support policies for operators. A briefing guide for mayors, city executives and urban planners in developing countries and countries in transition*. "Food in Cities" Collection, No. 4. FAO, Rome. PDF

Boustedt S. & Mair N. (2013). *Vendors galore and more. In search of cultural identity and social values in the Tanzanian marketplace.* Chalmers University of Technology. (Master's Thesis). PDF

Brown, A. (2015). Claiming the Streets: Property Rights and Legal Empowerment in the Urban Informal Economy. *World Development*, 76: 238–248. PDF

Brown, A. (Ed.). (2017). *Rebel Streets and the Informal Economy: Street Trade and the Law*. Taylor & Francis. Google Books

Brown, A., Lyons, M. and Dankoco, I. (2010). Street Traders and the Emerging Spaces for Urban Voice and Citizenship in African Cities, Urban Studies, 47(3): 666–683 PDF

Brown, A., Msoka C. and Dankoco, I. (2014). *A Refugee in My Own Country: Evictions or Property Rights in the Urban Informal Economy?* Abstract

Bumarwa R.N. (2009). *Factors influencing high increase of street food vendors. A case study from Msamvu bus terminal in Morogoro municipal.* Ngudu School of Environmental Health Sciences (SEHS). (Dissertation). PDF

Candefjord, L., & Nilsson, L. (2015). *Kivukoni Waterfront: public place or neglected space?. A design proposal for a harbor area in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.* Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences. (Master's thesis). PDF

Chijoriga M.M. (2003). *Report on the assessment of feasibility of a women business incubator.* United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Chidren (MCDGC), Women's Information Center (WIC), University of Dar es Salaam. PDF

Daudi, Z. A. (2015). *Challenges Facing Women Informal Sector Operators in Balancing Child Caring and Productive Roles: A*

Case of Women Food Vendors in Ilala Municipality (Doctoral dissertation, The Open University Of Tanzania). PDF

Eijdenberg, E. L. (2016). Does one size fit all? A look at entrepreneurial motivation and entrepreneurial orientation in the informal economy of Tanzania. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, *22*(6), 804-834. PDF

Eijdenberg, E. L., & Borner, K. (2017). The performance of subsistence entrepreneurs in Tanzania's informal economy. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, *22*(01). PDF

FAO (2008). *Tanzania Nutrition Profile.* FAO, Rome. PDF

Garrett, J. (2002). *Dar es Salaam. Urban Livelihood Challenges*. IFPRI. PDF

Gogadi, B. S. (2011). *The Role of Microfinance on Women Empowerment: A Case Study of Pride (T), and Women Food Vendors in Kariakoo, Ilala District, Dar Es Salaam Region, United Republic Of Tanzania* (Doctoral dissertation, The Open University of Tanzania). PDF

Haji,Y. (2010). *Factors that inhibit the effective performance of small business entrepreneurship. A case study of Dodoma municipal*. University of Dodoma. PDF

Hamad, M. (2012). Determining an alternative source of sustainable feeds for mud crab farming and growth performance of Scylla serrata in Tanzania. *Degree of Master of Science (Marine Sciences). University of Dar es Salaam. Tanzania*. PDF

Hilmi, M. (2016). *Fostering green growth by developing greener food value chains: a bottom-of-the-pyramid perspective.* Green Growth Knowledge Platform (GGKP). Fourth Annual Conference on Transforming Development Through Inclusive Green Growth. 6-7 September 2016, Republic of Korea. PDF

ILO (2003). *Tanzanian Women Entrepreneurs: Going For Growth. Programme on Boosting Employment Through Small Enterprise Development.* International Labour Office, Geneva and Ministry of Industry and Trade – SME Section, Dar es Salaam. PDF

ILO (2010). *The Regulatory Framework and the Informal Economy*. PDF

ILO, UNIDO, UNDP (2002). *Roadmap Study of the Informal Sector in Mainland Tanzania*. PDF

Imathiu, S. (2017). Street Vended Foods: Potential for Improving Food and Nutrition Security or a Risk Factor for Foodborne Diseases in Developing Countries?. *Current Research in Nutrition and Food Science Journal*, *5*(2), 55-65. PDF

Israel, L. (2013). *Increasing self-employment awareness to youth by providing entrepreneurship training", A case study of Kinyerezi Mbuyuni Camp in Kinyerezi ward Ilala-district* (Doctoral dissertation, The Open University of Tanzania). PDF

Kavishe, F.P., Mushi, S.S. (1993). *Nutrition−Relevant Actions in Tanzania.* Tanzania Food And Nutrition Centre. PDF

Kennedy, G., Nantel, G., & Shetty, P. (2004). Globalization of food systems in developing countries: a synthesis of country case studies. *Globalization of food systems in developing countries: impact on food security and nutrition*, *83*(1). Google Books

Kinabo, J. (2003). A case study of Dar es Salaam City, Tanzania. Presented at *FAO technical*

workshop on "Globalization of food systems: impacts on food security and nutrition", 8-10 October 2003, Rome, Italy. PDF

Kinabo, J. (2004). Impact of globalization on food consumption, health and nutrition in urban areas: a case study of Dares Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania. *Globalization of food systems in developing countries: Impact on food security and nutrition*, 135-154. Google Books

Kindo, H.A. (2016). *Profitability of women food vendors businesses in Arusha City, Tanzania. A reseach proposal*. Moshi Co-operative University. PDF

Lindell, I. (2010) Africa's Informal Workers: Collective Agency, Alliances and Transnational Organizing in Urban Africa. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute. PDF

Lukmanji, Z., Hertzmark, E., Mlingi, N., Assey, V., Ndossi, G., & Fawzi, W. (2008). Tanzania food composition tables. *MUHAS-TFNC, HSPH, Dar es Salaam Tanzania*. PDF

Lyons, M. (2013). Pro-poor business law? On MKURABITA and the legal empowerment of Tanzania's street vendors. *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, 5(1), 74-95. PDF

Lyons, M., & Brown, A. (2008). Life on the Streets: Voice and Power of Street Traders in Urban Tanzania. *Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences, London South Bank University, UK*. PDF

Lyons, M., & Msoka, C. (2009). The World Bank and the African street: (How) have the doing business reforms affected Tanzania‟s micro-vendors? *Urban Studies*, 47(5), 1079-1097. PDF

Lyons, M., Brown, A. (2009). *Legal Pluralism and Development: Street-trade and regulatory reform in Tanzania.* IDEAR Working Paper 2009/6. London South Bank University. PDF

Magehema, F. (2014). *Local government authority support to informal sector and performance of the sector in Tanzania: A case of food vending in Songea rural and urban districts* (Doctoral dissertation, Sokoine University of Agriculture). PDF

Maingwa, S. S. (2015). *Empowering Women Food Vendors in Alleviation to Poverty: A Case Study of Mzizima Ward in Tanga* (Doctoral dissertation, The Open University Of Tanzania). PDF

Majura, N. (2013). *Improvement of the Hygienic situation of Nyakato Slaughter House through Toilet Construction* (Doctoral dissertation, The Open University of Tanzania). PDF

Makungu, C., Stephen, S., Kumburu, S., Govella, N.J., Dongus, S., Hildon, Z.J-L., Killeen, G.F., & Jones C. (2017). Informing new or improved vector control tools for reducing the malaria burden in Tanzania: a qualitative exploration of perceptions of mosquitoes and methods for their control among the residents of Dar es Salaam. *Malaria Journal*, 16:410. PDF

Malijah, A. and Kambaila, J. (1992). Country paper on street foods in Zambia. International Workshop on street foods in Africa, Accra, Ghana, April-May 1992, FAO, pp 88-94

Marobhe, N. J., & Sabai, S. M. (2016). Assessment of Food Safety Practices and Microbiological Quality of Street Vended Rice and Beans in Mlalakuwa Ward, Dar es Salaam. *Journal of Chemical, Biological and Physical Sciences (JCBPS)*, *6*(2), 297. PDF

Mbisso, D. (2011). *Petty trading in marketplaces: Space Generation, Use and Management at Temeke Stereo Marketplace in Dar es*

Salaam, Tanzania. Chalmers University of Technology. PDF

Mfaume, R. M., & Leonard, W. (2004). Small business entrepreneurship in Dar es Salaam-Tanzania: Exploring problems and prospects for future development. *African Development and Poverty Reduction, Somerset West, South Africa*. PDF

Milanzi, A. H. (2011). *The contribution of mama lishe activities towards household poverty alleviation in Morogoro municipality, Tanzania* (Doctoral dissertation, Sokoine university of agriculture). PDF

Mkama, S. Y. (2007). *Performance of women micro-enterprises in Misungwi village: the case study of Ushirikiano CBO* (Doctoral dissertation, Southern New Hampshire University). PDF

Mramba, N. R. (2015). The Conception of Street Vending Business (SVB) in Income Poverty Reduction in Tanzania. *International Business Research*, *8*(5), 120. PDF

Msoka, C.T. & Ackson, T. (2017). The politics and regulation of street trading in Dar es Salaam. In Brown, A. (Ed.). (2017). *Rebel Streets and the Infor-mal Economy: Street Trade and the Law*. Taylor & Francis. 183-204. Google Books

Msoka, C.T. (2005). *Informal markets and urban development: A study of women food vending in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.* PhD. Dissertation, University of Minnesota.

Msoka, C.T. (2007). *Street vending in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: The dynamics behind continuing vulnerability.* University of Dar es Salaam. Prepared for the Living on the Margins Conference, Stellenbosch. 26-28 March 2007. PDF

Msoka, E. (2013). Do entrepreneurship skills have an influence on the performance of women owned enterprises in Africa? Case of micro and small enterprises in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. *International Journal of Business, Humanities and Technology,* 3(3), 53-62. PDF

Mugoya, P. (2012). The informal retail trade sub sector in Tanzania: Size, tax potential and poverty reduction. In Maliyamkono (Ed.), *Transforming the informal sector' (How to overcome the challenges)* (pp. 67-102). Dar es Salaam: ESAURP

Mwana E.K. (2013). *Consumer attitude, knowledge and use of nutrition information in relation to energy dense foods: A case study of Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania*. Universitet Gent. (Master's dissertation). PDF

Ndossi, Y. (1992). Country paper on street foods in Tanzania. International Workshop on street foods in Africa, Accra, Ghana, April -May 1992, FAO, pp 51-64

Nelson, E. G., & De Bruijn, E. J. (2005). The voluntary formalization of enterprises in a developing economy: The case of Tanzania. *Journal of International Development,* 17(4), 575-593. Abstract

Ngassapa, F. N., Othman, O. C., & Elisante, E. (2010). Urban dietary heavy metal intake from protein foods and vegetables in Dar es Salaam. *Tanzania Journal of Science*, *36*(1). PDF

Nnko, S., Gidamis, A., and Abdallah, S. (1998). Investigation on the hygienic and nutritive qualities of street foods locally produced and sold by "Mama Ntilie" in Tanzania. Food and Nutrition Journal of Tanzania, 9(1), 15-19.

Nnkya, T. (2006) An Enabling Framework? Governance and Street Trading in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. In Brown, A. (Ed.) *Contested Space: Street Trading, Public Space and Livelihoods in Developing Cities.* Warwickshire: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Nonga, H. E., Ngowi, H. A., Mdegela, R. H., Mutakyawa, E., Nyahinga, G. B., William, R., & Mwadini, M. M. (2015). Survey of physicochemical characteristics and microbial contamination in selected food locally vended in Morogoro Municipality, Tanzania. PDF

Ntomola, S. S. (2014). *Determination of Hygienic Practice and Status of Food Handlers in Catering Premises: A Case Study of Ilala Municipal Council*(Doctoral dissertation, The Open University of Tanzania). PDF

Nyaruhucha, C., Kinabo, J., Kulwa, K., John, J., George, V., and Sillo, L. (2007). *Improving the nutritional quality of street foods to better meet the micronutrient needs of schoolchildren in urban areas.* Food and Agriculture Organization and Sokoine University. FAO, Rome, Italy. PDF

Omar, M. H. (2015). *Prevalence of Enteric Bacteria Associated with Diarrhea in Children less than Five Years of Age; and their Sensitivity to Antibiotics in Unguja Island-Zanzibar* (Doctoral dissertation, The Open University Of Tanzania). PDF

Phillipo, F. (2008). *Contribution of women's income generating activities to household income in Kigoma urban district, Kigoma region, Tanzania* (Doctoral dissertation, Sokoine University of Agriculture). PDF

Raphael, G., & Mrema, G. I. (2017). Assessing the Role of Microfinance on Women Empowerment: A case of PRIDE (T)-Shinyanga. *Business and Economic Research*, *7*(2), 35-54. PDF

Riggio, E. (2012). Children in an urban Tanzania. PDF

Rugemalila, G. A. (2015). *Investigations on Environmental Risk Factors Responsible For High Prevalence of Food Borne Diseases: The case of Temeke Municipal, Dar es Salaam* (Doctoral dissertation, The Open University of Tanzania). PDF

Rutahindurwa L. (2013). Assessment of factors affecting performance of women entrepreneurs in Dar Es Salaam: the case of food vendors. Open University of Tanzania. (MBA Dissertation). PDF

Sagenge, A. J. (2015). *Impact of School Feeding Program on Access to Primary School Education in Chamwino* (Doctoral dissertation, The Open University Of Tanzania). PDF

Simforian, E. (2013). *Assessment of bacterial quality and associated handling practices of unpasteurised fruit juices vended in Dar es Salaam city, Tanzania*(Doctoral dissertation, Sokoine University of Agriculture). PDF

Simon, S. (2007). Promises and challenges of the informal food sector in developing countries. FAO, University of Bologna, University of Ottawa. PDF

Skinner, C. (2016). Informal food retail in Africa: a review of evidence. *Consuming urban poverty project. Cape Town: African Centre for Cities*. PDF

Terevaeli, B. (2014). *Improving livelihoods of smallholder paddy producers by strengthening their capacities in packaging and marketing"-: A case of Matufa village in Babati distric* (Doctoral

dissertation, The Open University of Tanzania). PDF

Tiisekwa, A. B. (2013). *Compliance by street salad and juice vendors with national food safety and quality requirements a case of Morogoro municipality, Tanzania* (Doctoral dissertation). PDF

Tillerman, E. (2012). *Women Vendors in Dar es Salaam: Surviving or Climbing the Livelihood Ladder? Exploring the Livelihoods of Women in the Urban Food and Beverage Vending Sector in Tanzania.* Lund University. (Bachelor Thesis). PDF

Tripp, A. M. (1989). *Defending the right to subsist: The state vs. the urban informal economy in Tanzania* (Vol. 59). World Institute for Development Economics Research of the United Nations University. PDF

UNICEF (2012). *Cities and Children: The Challenge of Urbanisation in Tanzania*. PDF

Wegerif, M. C. (2017). *Feeding Dar es Salaam: a symbiotic food system perspective* (Doctoral dissertation, Ph. D. Thesis, Rural Sociology, Wageningen University, Wageningen, The Netherlands). PDF

Zobida Habib, O. H., & Mutabazi, K. D. S. (2011). *Performance of evening street markets of agri-food products in Morogoro municipality, Tanzania*. PDF

Zvar Hurtig, R. (2009). *Food Habit Transitions in the Urban Areas of Low-Income Countries: A study on how globalization and urbanization influence food habits among primary pupils in Babati town, Tanzania.* Södertörn University. (Bachelor's Thesis). PDF

News

All Africa (2017, October 18). *Tanzania: Food Festival Brings New Aroma Over Stone Town.* LINK

All Africa (2017, September 30). *Tanzania: Second Zanzibar Stone Town Food Festival in Offing*. LINK

All Africa (2017, May 22). *Tanzania: Just How Hygienic Is the City's Street Food?* LINK

All Africa (2012, July 27). *Tanzania: Mwanza Food Vendors Need Training*. LINK

The Citizen (2017, September 18). Eating street food isn't a bad idea. LINK

The Citizen (2017, February 28). *How Ilala municipality grapples with problem of vendors*. LINK

The Peninsula Qatar (2017, July 10). *Tanzania's women street cooks hope for safety, loans.* LINK

Xinhua (2017, May 29). *Tanzania's Zanzibar bans street food vendors over cholera outbreak.* LINK

Leila's Café (2016). *A Day in the life of Mama Lishe.* LINK

Urban Africa (2016, January 27). *How a new kind of "modern" urban development can include street vendors.* LINK